

COLUMBIAN OBSERVER.

A JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND LITERATURE.

EQUAL RIGHTS, HONEST AGENTS, AND AN ENLIGHTENED PEOPLE.

Vol. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 20, 1823.

[No. 101.

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CARDS, BANK CHECKS, CIRCULARS, HANDBILLS, &c.
Executed on the lowest terms, with neatness, accuracy,
and despatch.

Dec. 5

Education for the Deaf & Dumb.

The Philadelphia Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, being now completely organized, and under the care of DAVID G. SEIXAS, an experienced teacher of that description of persons, is ready for the reception of pupils. Applications made by parents or guardians to any of the undersigned gentlemen, will meet with prompt attention.

RICHARD POVALI, No. 115, South Ninth street.
WASHINGTON JACKSON, No. 75, South Eighth street.

WILLIAM PRICE, No. 35, North Ninth street.
N. C. NANCREDE, corner of Fifth and Powell streets.

JOHN SWIFT, No. 31 South Sixth street.
Committee of General Superintendence.

Aug. 3—

JAMES GOWEN*

OFFERS BY RETAIL, AT HIS STORE,
N. W. corner of Walnut and Dock streets,

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1st to 4th proof.

Old Jamaica Rum of superior flavour and quality.
Schimmel's Wesep Anchor Holland Gin, very old.

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Old Eau-de-vie and Cork Irish Whiskey.
A few demijohns Rasperry do.

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Old Red Port, finely crusted, in bottles.
Do. do. on draught.

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Monongahela high proof Rye Whiskey.
Superior yellow and brown Havana Scuras, in gr. boxes.

Best green and black Teas.

WITH A CHOICE ASSORTMENT OF
GROCERIES,

For family use.
N. B. The above Wines and Liquors are warranted
pure as imported.

ALSO, BY WHOLESALE,
Wines, Brandies, Holland Gin and Spirits, by the
cask.

A few gr. casks L. P. Madeira Wine, suitable for
private use, at a reduced price by the gr. cask.

Superior white Havana Sugar, in half boxes for fami-

lies.
Bristol Porter and Wine Bottles by the hamper.

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Bracebridge Hall,

NEW EDITION,

At three dollars per copy.

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ABRAHAM SMALL,

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Bracebridge Hall, or the Humourists,

A MEDLEY,

By GEOFFREY CRAYON, Gentleman,

In 2 vols. 12mo. Price \$3.

Advertisement to this Edition:

The Manuscript for the first edition of this work was transmitted to America, at a time when the Author was suffering under a long and obstinate indisposition, and much depression of spirit. He was conscious of the imperfection of the work, but was advised by his physicians to commit it to the press, and relieve his mind from it, as a necessary step to the recovery of his health. In the course of publication in England, however, an improved state of health and spirits enabled him to make considerable alterations and additions; which will account for the material difference that will be perceived between the first and second editions of the work, as published in America."

UNITARIANISM.

Just published and for sale by

ABRAHAM SMALL,

No. 165, Chestnut street.

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And every Thursday evening, at the Commissioner's Hall, Northern Liberties.

And every Friday evening at the Commissioner's Hall, Southwark by the Berean Societies, (who hold debating meetings at those places,

PRICE 25 CENTS.

Unitarianism the Religion of Jesus,

Or Critical Lectures on the Unity of God and Salvation of all men, delivered in the Commissioner's Hall, Northern Liberties, by the Rev. J. S. Thompson, A. M. of the Universities of Glasgow, St. Andrews and Edinburgh.

Feb. 15.—

FARMERS' BREWERY.

To the Citizens of Philadelphia, and the Public in general.

THE managers of the Farmers' Brewery, Tenth and Filbert streets, beg leave to inform their friends and the public, that they have agreed to sell BEER at five dollars per barrel, which will be ready to deliver on Monday, the 3d February next.

Jan 28—5t.

New English Books.

Just received per ship Lancaster the following new Books, and for sale by

ABRAHAM SMALL,

No. 165, Chestnut Street.

Bartlett's History of the Reformation, 6 vols.

Dr. Paley's Works, 4 vols. miniature ed.

Jenison's Elements of Science and Art, new ed.

Goldsmit's Animated Nature, 6 vols. do.

Cadworth's Intellectual System,

Aitken's British Poets, 1 vol. 8vo.

Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly, 2 vols.

Malte Brun's System of Geography

Good's Study of Medicine, 4 vols.

Elegant Epistles, 1 vol. 8vo.

Essays on the Manners of the Romans.

Thompson's Select Irish Songs

Starke on Criminal Law, 2 vols.

Roper on Legacies

Tidell's Practice, new edition

Hawkin's Abridgment of Coke

Coventry on the Law of Recovery

Holt's Law of Shipping

Beane's Costs in Equity

Swanson's Chancery Reports, vol. 2d.

Powell on Mortgages by Coventry.

A. Small, will publish next week, Sugden's Treatise

on the Law of Powers, from the last London edition, with

notes and references to American decisions, by E. D. In-

graham, Esq. To press, a new and handsome edition of

Judge Washington's Reports, corrected to the present

time; and preparing for the press a new edition of Peake's

Evidence, from the fifth London edition, with references

to American decisions.

Jan. 9, 1823.

NEW BOOKS.

A further Supply of the following valuable Books is just received and for sale by

W. W. WOODWARD,

South West corner of Second and Chestnut streets.

The Infant's Progress from the Valley of Destruction to

Everlasting Glory, by Mrs. Sherwood

A Mother's Journal during the last illness of her child, by Jane Taylor

Thornton's Dialogues on Pure Religion

The Little Osage Captive, by Elias Cornelius

Burder's Sermons to Children

The Life of Brainerd, the celebrated Missionary

The Italian Convert, an authentic narrative

Silvy Douglass, a simple story

The History of George Desmond, founded on facts which

occurred in the East Indies.

Dec. 14—ff

Major Long's Expedition.

JUST RECEIVED AND FOR SALE

By Abraham Small, No. 165, Chestnut Street,

Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, performed in the years 1819 and '20; by the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War; under the command of Major Stephen H. Long.

Compiled by Edwin James, Botanist and Geologist for the Expedition, in

two volumes, 8vo. and a volume of

plates.

ALSO,

SONGS OF ZION; being Imitations of Psalms; by

James Montgomery, Price 62 1-2 cents.

Jan. 2d.

Spanish Grammar and Exercises.

Just Received and for Sale by

ABM. SMALL,

No. 165 Chestnut Street,

Containing a description of the several Countries,

Towns, Villages, Settlements, Roads, Rivers, Lakes,

Springs, Mines, &c. in the State of Ohio.

By John Kilbourn. The seventh edition, with maps. Price one dollar and fifty cents.

Nov. 12—ff

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Columbian Observer.

THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1823.

On the 1st of April, we shall commence issuing the *Columbian Observer* to our Subscribers in the City, every evening. In addition to the former subjects which have been principally embraced in its columns, we shall subsequently to that day include *Commercial, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Mechanical topics*, at such times, and in such portions, as the interests of each, and the gratification of all will admit. Neither industry nor expense shall be wanting on the part of the Editors, to present a *daily paper* to their Patrons, which will evidence their zeal for the public good, if not gratify the various tastes of every individual. In one word, we cherish the design, and hope to be able to fulfil it, of blending the discussion of politics with the interests of trade; reconciling literature to the bustle of business, and bringing both the Farmer and the Manufacturer into the same social circle with the Statesman, the Merchant, the Author, and the Mechanic.

We say, and say without vanity, that the "Columbian Observer" was the first, and almost the only paper, to receive the nomination of Mr. Shulze. We rejoice to see that a great number of other papers throughout the state are now joining with us in the cause of Mr. Shulze, and that the decided opinion of the people is in favour of the Candidate we advocated from the commencement.

We are unwilling to besmirch Mr. Shulze with praise, because even those opposed to him have as yet never dared to assail his character, with the exception of a few papers, which may truth be denominated *Tory papers*.

We, however, calculate confidently upon the election of Mr. Shulze; and feel well assured that he will dispel the maligned of his enemies.

We republish in our paper of to-day an article from a *Western Paper*, on the subject of General Jackson's appointment as *Minister to Mexico*. We think the strictures passed upon Mr. Clay by no means just, or merited; nor would we be supposed to concur in all the sentiments of the writer, by the mere act of republication. The *Aurora* has repeatedly been called upon, to give their authority, or the author of the annunciation of the intention of General Jackson, to decline being a Candidate for the Presidency. That paper has never answered the repeated calls upon it, for the *falsehood* so published. That the change which has taken place in the *politics* of that paper, will exonerate the present *Federal Editors* from censure, we are by no means of opinion. An explanation of the assertion should come from the *Aurora*, or it stands convicted of misrepresentation.

The Aurora still abounds under great disrepute, by fighting under false colours, and they have no time now to lose in making an apology. We advise them to nail their flag to their mast-head, and resolve never again to smuggle, conceal a smuggler, or pirate on the fame and prospects of the *Hero of New Orleans*.

The "Harrisburg Commonwealth" states that the "Columbian Observer" has asserted that Mr. Shulze is "in favour of the pretensions of General Jackson to the next Presidency," and call upon us for some corroborations of that statement.

We beg leave to put a question to the Editors of the Commonwealth. It is currently reported in this City, that the "Auditor General" and his hopeful Clerks are deeply interested in that paper:—Is it so?

When the Editors of the Commonwealth answer our question, we shall stand prepared to answer their interrogatories.

What a folly it is, in the few scattered adherents of Mr. CALHOUN in Pennsylvania, still to hold out the idea, that he will receive the Presidential vote of this State. There is something so preposterous, so purely ridiculous in this mode of self-deception, that we feel nothing but pity and contempt, for the deluded men who still hold out the fallacious hope. It is matter of notoriety, that nine-tenths of the Delegates at Harrisburg were in favour of nominating Jackson and Clay; and nothing but the fear of transcending their powers prevented the *Nominatio*n. And they will finally be the choice of Pennsylvania.

The Author of Waverly.

From the facts detailed in the following article, we should infer, that those who allege WALTER SCOTT to be the Author of the *Waverly Novels*, must resort to a most contradictory hypothesis, in order to sustain their position. They say Scott is known as the Author, is proclaimed as the author, and is boasted as the author! Why then all this mystery? Why attempt to conceal, what everybody knows; why take so much trouble to arrive at no possible benefit? The truth is, Walter Scott is not the author of the romances in question; which are exclusively the production of the unfortunate Dr. Greenfield, whose motives of concealment are too powerful ever to be dismissed from his mind.

Notwithstanding the notoriety of the name of the real author of the *Scots Novel* in his native city, the same mysterious care and caution with regard to the manuscript and the correction of the proof sheets, which were in the first instance so scrupulously observed, still remain. The Manuscript sent to the printer is not in the hand writing of Sir Walter Scott, &c. during the progress of each work through the press, two proof sheets are regularly forwarded to the author, an intermediate person, &c. of which is returned corrected evidently in a disguised hand.

We understand the inexhaustible author of the *Waverly Novels* has another very interesting work in hand, the name of which was announced immediately after the publication of *Peveril of the Peak*.

Address of the Harrisburg Convention.

No. II.

Had we written this Address ourselves, it could not have been more expressive of our principles, or more consonant to the views which we have always taken of the politicks of the Democratic Party: more especially as it relates to the revival of those broad lines of distinction which prevailed between the Whig and Tory interest during the Revolu-

tion; which were freshened into activity at the formation of the *Federative Compact*, and which were subsequently confirmed, at the election of Mr. Jefferson. Indeed, the whole tenour of this Address is a strong confirmation of the whole policy and principles of our political career, since we commenced the *Observer*; and we cannot dissemble the just satisfaction we feel, in holding opinions so fully in unison with those of the great Democratic Party of Pennsylvania.

That part of the *Address*, which speaks of the arts of the "Federal party," to divide and conquer us, by throwing among our ranks the brand of discord, blazing with the unhallow'd fire of their ambition and avarice, cannot receive too much of the attention of every genuine democrat, who wishes success to his party, prostration to its foes, and triumph to its own Candidate. Our old adversaries, deficient in power, seek to supply its place by cunning, deception, fraud, and trickery. All the expedients of wicked temptation will no doubt be resorted to, to entice us into division, and divide brethren against brethren. But these arts, met by the determined spirit of firm and immovable patriotism, faithful to liberty and equal rights, must prove abortive; but in order to frustrate a design, so amply partaking of the worst spirit of *Satan*, it is necessary to remember, and to be on our guard against plots, which even at the time they seem least likely to succeed, become the more potent and dangerous.

That those members of our Party, who at first supported Governor Hester, once thought him a *Democrat*, cannot but be admitted. That they were deceived, has been altogether owing to the forcible application of *Federal Machinery*, upon a weak head, an indurated heart, and unstable principles. Governor Hester stands an isolated monument of *treachery and folly*, shunned and despised by all Democrats, which should serve as a solemn warning to every future Governor, to avoid the contaminating influence of Federalism. His political integrity it has forever blasted;—his government it has paralyzed; and his reputation it has sunk to the level of his understanding.

Let us all studiously avoid that baneful fallacy, "an era of good feelings," which is little more than synonymous with *blindness on our part*, and *deception on that of the Federalists*. We have nothing to gain from it—they have every thing to hope.

The following extract from the *Address* can be read again by every member of the Party, with profit and advantage.

No have they been unmindful of the peculiar character of the present crisis, and the conduct of our political opponents. Although a small minority in this state, the federal party pursuing their treacherous maxim of *divide and conquer*, have succeeded in possessing themselves of the reins of power. We know that many of our democratic brethren, have been greatly deceived in their expectations which they formed in 1820. Looking forward with an undefined hope, to a new administration, for some relief from the embarrassments of that period, they did not reflect, that as those embarrassments were universal, the cause in which they originated could not be partial.

But never did you contemplate (we address ourselves now especially to such of our political brethren, as support the present chief magistrate) never, we venture to assert, did you, for one moment, indulge the idea, that in placing him in the executive chair, you would give a federal administration to Pennsylvania. No, fellow-citizens we frankly and sincerely acquit you of that intention. Little did you foresee, that he who had so long possessed and merited your confidence, would no sooner find himself seated in that chair, than he would blindly surrender the keys of the cabinet, to men selected from those ranks, which he had in the vigour of his life opposed with his best powers, and which he return, had covered him with obloquy and infamy. Yet, such is the fact. You have seen these men—the directors of the present executive—with the "era of good feelings" on their tongues proscribing every body and everything that bears the stamp of democracy. You have seen them remove from office, because they were democrats, those who nobly staked their lives and honour, in support of the whig interest of 1776. You have seen them mark out for their impotent vengeance, others, who have been conspicuous in the democratic ranks. You have seen them repeatedly attack the representatives of your free choice;—and you have witnessed with surprise and with deep indignation, their wicked and presumptuous effort, to tamper with our highest judicial authorities. You have seen them misappropriating the funds of the state, or by a shameful negligence suffering them to remain dead in the treasury, when the objects of appropriation had been pointed out by law. For nearly three years, have you beheld the pernicious *incubs* of federalism couched on the bosom of the commonwealth, stifling her energies, and sinking her into infamy and insignificance. These facts most forcibly exhibit the noble democratic family, to union. Pennsylvania should not, and will not endure federal administration. Essentially democratic in her feelings and character, she has ever frowned upon the haughty pretensions and aristocratic pride, inherent in the nature of federalism."

Extract of a Letter from Washington.
March 1823.

Now that the hurry and unmeaning bustle of an idle and intriguing session of Congress is over, I have a little time to scrawl you a line once more. The first thing, I suppose which you want to be informed of, is, how the several Candidates for the Presidency now stand. I need scarcely tell you, however, that Mr. Crawford has sunk below all chance of again rising to the eminence he once occupied. He is, in truth, very low, owing I think, to the exposure of his high toned Federal politics, in old John Adams' time—and partly to his very bad character—want of principle, of dignity, and real commanding talents—such as soar above, what is his chief and I may say, only faculty—low intrigue, art, and cunning, based upon an utter disregard of the good principles that generally restrain men from turpitude. His fall, from such causes, is you will allow, highly honourable to our free and virtuous people. It is an eternal monument of our Patriotism and our Party.

Mr. Calhoun is as low as his brother of the

Treasury, but from different causes. His private, as well as public reputation is, I believe, unblemished—with the exception of a knock at *intrigue*, which here, becomes a kind of *instinct* in a politician. Mr. Calhoun wants weight and influence, because he wants *sound and orthodox Democracy*, being too great an admirer of the *British Constitution* and *British subjects*, to have a whole heart left for any thing that is *really American*.

The Policians here, have besides been keeping too steady an eye upon your movements at *Harrisburg*, in the choice of a Democratic Candidate, to uphold Mr. Calhoun, who, it is confessed on all hands, has lost *Pennsylvania*, which your Mr. Dallas persuaded him was his strong-hold. Alas! I pity politicians whose hopes depend upon the words of such men. It is now clearly seen, that your State goes for *General Jackson*, and we understand here, that your *Convention* would have *nominated* him, but for fear of going beyond their delegated powers.

I now come to the three remaining Candidates, who stand in the following order of popularity and influence as we calculate here, but you must remember it comes from *Washington*, and if you reverse the order, you will be nearer the truth.

1. CLAY,
2. ADAMS,
3. JACKSON,

Since your Pennsylvania vote for Mr. Shulze; Clay is daily giving place to Jackson; and this in defiance of the arts assumed to disguise the change. Still they say Mr. Clay has the best chance; but you can see in the very confidence they assume, that it is used as an artifice to conceal a falling off. As to Mr. Adams, he is, politically speaking, in a most melancholy decline; and begins to discover that the mere force of *Rhetorick* will not make a *Tory* palatable to a Democratic people. Now as Mr. Adams has seen so many Kings, and knows so well how to act the King, do you not think it a pity he can't get a chance of yoking the People, like oxen, to his *Imperial Car*? But so it is. Besides, it has not been forgotten that he voted against the purchase of *Louisiana*, and that he lost ten millions of dollars to our citizens in negotiating the *Treaty with Spain*, making indemnity for spoliations, under the *Commission* now sitting at *Washington*.

Although Crawford has sunk so low, yet he is still active; and desperation drives him to every kind of shift and chicanery, to delude the people with a show of influence. He is still urging on the old *Burrites* to their accustomed intrigues, especially in New York, whither some of his old *Burr-agents* have recently gone to take advantage of the new order of things under Gov. *Yeates*. One of these precious *intrigues* of the old *Treason-school*, is now at *Albany*, attempting to buy up the members of the *Legislature*, with the gold of 1821, which authorizes a loan of one million of dollars, and it is the opinion of your committee, that it will be continued no longer than the state of the finances will make absolutely necessary; but while so continued, it becomes the duty of the *Legislature* to see that its provisions are faithfully complied with, otherwise the honest and patriotic part of your citizens will only pay the tax, while those less honest and less patriotic will escape.

The stock held by the state in turnpike roads and bridges, amounting to about 2,000,000 dollars, has been hitherto very unproductive. The whole amount received during the last year was but \$2170, and should the bill now on your files, freeing certain turnpike roads for wagons having four inch tires or upwards, be enacted into a law, it would forever destroy all hopes of deriving any revenue from the stock held in your turnpike roads, and at the same time add ultimately near a million of dollars to your state debt, and in addition to the use of the narrow wheeled wagons on turnpike roads would shortly be abandoned and four inch wheels only used; the consequence of which would be, that the toll received would not be sufficient to keep those roads in repair, and they would either go to destruction or be a continued charge on the commonwealth. It is not the opinion of your committee, that even if that bill should not pass, that much revenue would be derived from that source for some time; yet, as the debts of the turnpike road and bridge companies will by degrees be extinguished, a considerable amount might be raised which would help to extinguish the present state debt. And it is the opinion of your committee, that no measure ought to be adopted, how important soever it may appear, in relation to freeing those roads in the present reduced state of the finances, as the most rigid economy will not, in the next twenty years, replace the finances of the state in the situation they were previous to the year 1816; and your committee most heartily deprecate the entailing of a state debt on posterity.

There are a number of minor sources of revenue that your committee forbear taking any notice of except merely to recapitulate them:—Those are, the tax on offices, militia and exempt fines, fees of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, old debts, &c. which produced last year \$17,139 57. It is worthy of remark, that the tax on offices is much less productive than formerly, and is now produced in the year 1819-20, \$12,610 43, and in the last year only \$8000 32. This falling off is occasioned partly on account of the reduction of fees, and partly on account of the same offices being held by a greater number of individuals than formerly, by which means the amount received by any one officer is not so great as before. The aggregate amount received during the last year from all these different sources of revenue was \$294,762 60. Having thus briefly noticed the principal existing sources of revenue, it may not appear improper to take a short view of the permanent expenditures.

The first and principle item consists in the expenses of government, ordinary and contingent, embracing the legislative, executive, judiciary, land and treasury departments, the aggregate of which last year was \$163,320 13. This sum must gradually increase with the wealth and population of the country. The same remark will hold good in regard to the expense necessary for the support of the militia establishment, which cost last year \$25,837 65, and it is not likely to be less expensive this year.

To those sums must be added the interest on the state debt, which drew from your treasury last year \$90,360, & is estimated for this year at \$80,900. This sum will be increased by any additional loans that may be authorized in consequence of new appropriations made during the present session, or to meet unsatisfied appropriations yet unpaid, and for the payment of which the balance now in the treasury, and any surplus revenue that may exist over and above the permanent expenses, will be inadequate.

Your committee cannot pass over this item without expressing their regret that it is so large. The sum we are now paying by way of interest would, if judiciously appropriated and prudently managed, in less than fifteen years make more improvements and of greater importance than those we have gone in debt for, and at the end of that period leave the state not only free from debt, but with an annual sum of \$100,000 dollars, to go on with other improvements in such order as the density of population and the comfort and convenience of the citizens would make necessary. They therefore look forward with anxiety in anticipation of a period when those debts under which we now labour shall be removed and the finances restored to that healthy situation they were in formerly. They believe that neither our form of government nor the habits or disposition of our citizens is calculated for either debt or taxation; but if one or the other must be adopted, they would prefer taxes rather than debt. In order therefore to prevent an increasing and accumulating debt, and to secure the payment of that already contracted, will be indispensably necessary to keep your appropriations within the present surplus revenue, or at the same time that appropriations are made provide the means of payment.

There are a number of other items of expense that your committee do not think necessary to notice particularly; and they will conclude this view of the subject by remarking that the aggregate expense, which may be considered permanent, amounted last year to \$308,334 89, and it is more likely to be increased than diminished during the present year.

From the best information that your committee can obtain on the subject, they are of opinion that the permanent expenses of government will be greater this year than last, while the receipts at the treasury, will not be so great. It will be seen by a reference to the estimate of the Auditor General, that he anticipates a considerable decrease in the monies received from lands and auction duties. In order to form as correct an idea as the nature of the case will admit, of what may be the surplus revenue of the present year over and above the permanent expenses, we will take the estimate of the Auditor General, with one or two slight alterations, as follows:

Lands and Land office fees, \$120,000
Dividends on bank stock, 7,000
Do on turnpike and bridge stock, 20,000
Tax on banks, 15,200
Auction commissions, 6,000
Do duties, 25,000
Duties on retailers of foreign merchandise, 30,000
Tavern licences, 6,000
Tax on offices, 6,000
Militia and exempt fines, 6,000
Fees of the Secretary of the Commonwealth's office, 1,000
Old debts and miscellaneous, 5,000

Making a total of \$345,200
Expenditures as follows.

Expenses of government, ordinary and contingent, \$165,000
Pensions, 20,000
Militia expenses, 30,000
Pennsylvania claimants, 6,000
Expenses consequent on the late war, 1,500
Removal of convicts, 7,000
Miscellaneous, 6,000
Interest on state debt, 90,000

Making a total of \$316,200

From this view of the subject it appears that we have a probable surplus revenue of \$20,000, after deducting the permanent expenses including the interest on the state debt; and should it be found necessary to borrow money either to make new appropriations, or to meet those already made, an additional sum equal to the interest of the money thus borrowed, will be added to our permanent expenditure; and will, if money is borrowed to say considerate extent, make it absolutely necessary to find new sources of revenue in order to pay the interest, while nothing is left to form a sinking fund to extinguish the principal.

From this general view of the state of the finances, your committee come now to inquire what amount will be necessary to meet the probable demands on the state treasury during the present year; and in doing so will be guided principally by the reported estimate of the Auditor General, corrected as above.—From this estimate it would appear that the probable receipts in the treasury during the present financial year, including the \$16,616 60, to be received on account of the Arch street prison in the city of Philadelphia, will be \$361,806 60, and the probable demand, exclusive of appropriations, \$316,200, leaving a probable surplus of \$45,000, to which the balance in the treasury on the first of December last, after deducting the \$150,000 since paid to the banks of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, amounting to \$184,038 84, and you have a total of \$229,565 50. The estimated expenditure in consequence of former appropriations, are \$307,500 15, which will leave the sum of \$77,902 65, to which sum add \$130,000 money borrowed from the Pennsylvania Bank, under the provisions of an act of the 29th March, 1819, reimbursed within four years from the date of the loans respectively, and falling due in the course of the present year, and you have the sum of \$207,902 65, to be provided for either by loan or taxes, and this sum must be added whatever appropriations are made during this session.

Although your committee are averse to borrowing money, yet they believe that additional taxes ought not to be resorted to at this time, inasmuch as the great scarcity of a circulating medium in the interior of the state, would make it very difficult, if not impracticable to raise money by any general system of taxation, and inasmuch as there is a small surplus revenue which it is thought may be increased by the means before stated, that might, if prudently managed form a sinking fund that would in time extinguish the state debt. They therefore recommend the passage of a law authorizing the Governor to obtain on loan from the Philadelphia Bank, the sum of \$100,000, which bank is bound by the charter to loan to the state at an interest not exceeding 5 per cent per annum; and also empowering the Governor to renew the loans of the Pennsylvania bank, as they shall severally fail, and make such other loans as the exigencies of the state may require, at an interest not exceeding 6 per cent per annum, for any time not exceeding 4 years. Your committee cannot conclude without expressing their regret that Pennsylvania, rich in resources, should have been forced to commence a system of borrowing, which may be fairly considered the first step towards a state debt. About all governments, that of a republic at least, calculated to go through with a system of borrowing, paying interest and collecting taxes. Economy, frugality and an aversion to debt, are essential to its existence. Although Pennsylvania has embarked in the system, she is not yet so far advanced as to be unable to return. By pursuing a steady course of economy, by refusing to appropriate for any purpose however important, without at the same time providing the means, Pennsylvania in the course of twenty or at the most thirty years, may get back to her old ground; and if once replaced, it is devoutly to be hoped that in future she will avoid every thing calculated to bring on a state debt with its attendant trials of loans, interest, taxes and tax gatherers.

GEN. JACKSON.</

citizens to be respected, which could not be anticipated, at the hands of an ordinary statesman. Under this view of the subject, Gen. Jackson may accept the appointment, without withdrawing from the list of candidates for the presidency. He may proceed to Mexico—remain there twelve months—effect highly important objects, and return to the United States previous to the month of October, 1824. It is evident, that much depends on the talents, the industry, and even on the character of the minister, whose business it may be, to open negotiations between the United States and Mexico. The name of Jackson, and his character, are pretty well known throughout the world; and his talents and address, are such, as to leave no doubt of his efficiency and success as a minister. We do not think that Mr. Monroe would lend himself to aid the designs of any aspirant, or to "banish" Gen. Jackson from the country "when the people are showing symptoms of their determination to employ him at home as their Chief Magistrate." In this particular point, we have reason to believe, the Editor of the "Nashville Gazette" has erred. Indeed we are unprepared to believe, that this appointment was made with any improper view whatever; or that it was intended to "shuffle him out of being a candidate for the next presidency." It is hardly probable that Mr. Adams should have selected such an occasion to commence the business of *intrigue*; as to Mr. Crawford, he is known to be hostile to Jackson—the same may be said of Mr. Clay. It may be, however, that expediency has outweighed the angry and relentless feelings of the last mentioned gentleman; for, judging by the notes which recently passed between him and the Secretary of State, Mr. C. is not to be "provoked" to do any act, however just, that may be calculated to jostle him in his ambitious career. But if it is an object with either of the candidates to get Gen. Jackson out of the way, it must be Mr. Clay. To effect this object, and seemingly to atone for his speech on the Seminole War; to obtain forgiveness of the nation, for his abuse of Gen. Jackson, and for the tears he shed, on account of the fate of the notorious renegades, Arbutnott and Ambrister, we have no doubt he would be willing to send Gen. Jackson to Mexico, or even to Jericho. But we do not believe that Mr. Clay has had any thing to do with the appointment of Gen. Jackson, because Mr. Monroe is both personally and politically attached to the General, and he knows Mr. Clay too well to have paid the least attention to any thing he could possibly have said on the subject. In short we feel pretty confident, that the presidential election has had no bearing on the appointment of Gen. Jackson; that if he accepts the appointment, it will be for the sole purpose of rendering important services to his country—and if he refuses to do so, it may be fairly attributed to his love of retirement, and to a conviction that the public will not be injured by his determination. In a word, the selection made by Mr. Monroe, in this instance, may have been the result of weighty considerations, which could not, with propriety, be disclosed at this time, either by himself or Gen. Jackson.

From the *Nashville Gazette*.

Misrepresentation.—Some time last fall, the *Aurora*, then under the management of Mr. Wilson, asserted that General Andrew Jackson would not be a candidate for the next Presidency; and said he had good authority for such assertion. The paragraph from the *Aurora*, was copied into we believe all the Washington papers, the *Richmond Enquirer*, and many other Eastern papers, for which we exchange. We positively denied its correctness, and called on the Editor of the *Aurora*, either to correct this statement, or to give the authority on which he made it. This denial we hoped would have been as generally copied, as the misstatement it corrected, had previously been. The fact that General Jackson, will be supported, by his friends, for the next Presidency, is certainly as important to the readers of those Journals, as can be the false assertion, that they had withdrawn him from the contest. In this expectation, reasonable as it is, we have been disappointed; neither the *Enquirer*, nor one of the papers at Washington, have noticed the correction; on the contrary, the *National Intelligencer* has twice contained original paragraphs corroborating the misstatements of the *Aurora*. The *Columbian Observer*, of all the Eastern papers we receive, is the only one which has treated the matter with fairness. Even the *Aurora*, in the columns of which the falsehood originated, evades our call, and by a strange fitness endeavours to shift upon us the sin of its own commission. (See the annexed extract.)—As the management of that paper, has changed hands since the publication of the article complained of, we prefer affording Mr. Sanderson, its present Editor, an opportunity of correcting his *error* as to the paper in which the misstatement originated, to commenting on it in terms justly applicable to the occasion, which we should do, had the *Aurora* remained in the hands of Mr. Wilson. We may be mistaken—we hope we are—in the strong impression we possess, that the authority on which the *Aurora* acted, may be traced to the active friends of a rival candidate, whose prospects would be bettered, by the General's being withdrawn. Whether it is so or not, it is due from the Editor of the *Aurora* to its readers, that he should, if in his power, procure from his predecessor, and inform them as the truth may be, whether the misstatement was the result of accident or error—or was designed to deceive them on an important matter in which they were deeply interested.

"It is denied in the *Nashville Gazette*, that General Jackson has withdrawn from the list of candidates for the office of President, as formerly stated in that paper."—*Aurora*.

The Embassy to Mexico.—We have been informed from a source entitled to credit, that General Jackson is disposed to consider the appointment of Minister to Mexico, as a compliment paid him by the Government—but owing to the distracted state of the Empire at this time, he could render no service to his country by going to Mexico; he will decline the acceptance of the appointment.

The duke of Sachsen-Weissenfels, who died lately at Vienna, in the 84th year of his age,

was the richest subject in all Austria. In the early part of his life he did much good, in the noblest manner, and especially for Vienna, of which a remarkable example is afforded, in the beautiful aqueduct, begun by his consort, the duchess Christina, and completed by himself. His estate amounted to eighteen million silver florins, of which, after deducting legacies, ten millions will remain for his heir, the arch-duke Charles. All those persons who were in the duke's service, will continue to receive their stipends during life. In obedience to the command of this illustrious man, 40,000 florins were distributed among invalid officers and soldiers, and 6000 among the poor of the metropolis, immediately after his decease.

A man who wished to pass one of the barriers of Paris, in 1793, was required to give his name, &c. to the persons on duty. "I am Monsieur le Marquis de St. Cyr." "Citizen, there are no Monsieurs now." "Very well, then le Marquis St. Cyr." "You ought to know, citizen, that there are neither nobles, titles, nor *marquis*." In that case, de St. Cyr, if you please." "De is not used now." Then say simply, St. Cyr." "Ah! but all saints, you know, have been abolished." "Well, if it must be so, write *Cyr*." "No, citizen, there are no longer any *Sires*." (the pronunciation is the same.) Thus, piece by piece, the unfortunate Marquis was stripped by the Revolution, till he found himself at the barrier of Paris without a name.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

We learn from Harrisburg, that Rees Hill, Esq. in the notes which recently passed between him and the Secretary of State, Mr. C. is not to be "provoked" to do any act, however just, that may be calculated to jostle him in his ambitious career.

But if it is an object with either of the candidates to get Gen. Jackson out of the way, it must be Mr. Clay. To effect this object, and seemingly to atone for his speech on the Seminole War; to obtain forgiveness of the nation, for his abuse of Gen. Jackson, and for the tears he shed, on account of the fate of the notorious renegades, Arbutnott and Ambrister, we have no doubt he would be willing to send Gen. Jackson to Mexico, or even to Jericho. But we do not believe that Mr. Clay has had any thing to do with the appointment of Gen. Jackson, because Mr. Monroe is both personally and politically attached to the General, and he knows Mr. Clay too well to have paid the least attention to any thing he could possibly have said on the subject.

In short we feel pretty confident, that the presidential election has had no bearing on the appointment of Gen. Jackson; that if he accepts the appointment, it will be for the sole purpose of rendering important services to his country—and if he refuses to do so, it may be fairly attributed to his love of retirement, and to a conviction that the public will not be injured by his determination. In a word, the selection made by Mr. Monroe, in this instance, may have been the result of weighty considerations, which could not, with propriety, be disclosed at this time, either by himself or Gen. Jackson.

Died.

On Tuesday afternoon, after a lingering illness, Mr. JOHN BATEMAN, Son, sail maker, in the 53d year of his age. His friends and acquaintances are particularly invited to attend his funeral, from his late residence, No. 41 Plum street, this afternoon, at three o'clock.

The members of the Washington Benevolent Society of the District of Southwark, are particularly invited to attend the funeral of their deceased fellow member, JOHN BATEMAN, from his late residence, No. 41 Plum street, this afternoon at three o'clock.

DEPARTED THIS LIFE on the 18th inst. at Haddonfield, New Jersey, THOMAS REDMAN, in the 82d year of his age. His friends and the connexions of the family are invited to attend his funeral, from his late residence, to morrow at 10 o'clock.

Mrs. ELIZABETH HUMPHREYS, Consort of the late Clement Humphreys, Esq. departed this life on the 15th inst. aged 72 years. Correct and exemplary through life, pious, calm and resigned in death, her several illness was borne with great fortitude and without complaint—and she cheerfully resigned her spirit to God who gave it, humbly trusting, through the mercy and love of our blessed Redeemer, to be made a partaker of joy unspeakable and full of glory."

In Caleston, (N. J.) on the 12th ult. after a long and lingering illness ELIZABETH COLAS, aged 74, consort of Job Coles Esq.—They had lived together just 52 years; had raised 14 children to maturity, and never had a death in his house before, since it was built, (upwards of 40 years) nor a fit of the ague and fever. They have now living 10 children, 43 grand children—deaths, one son aged 40, two grand children, and one great grand child.

Port of Philadelphia.

ARRIVED.

French schr. La Meteore, Delegorgue, 90 days from Lepcis, with brandy, wine, &c.

Schr. Benjamin Franklin, Foster, 9 days from Charleston, with rice and flour.

Schr. Why Not, Icenis, 4 days from Suffolk with lumber.

Schr. Nancy & Mary, Johnson, 4 days from Suffolk, with lumber.

Sloop Mechanic, Holland, 4 days from Suffolk, with lumber.

Sloop Lady Washington, Perry, 4 days from N. York, with potatoes.

Sloop Fair Trader, Beaufort, — days from Richmond, with tobacco, flour and coal.

CLEARED.

Packet ship Alexander, Baldwin, Liverpool T. P. Cope & Sons; schr. Banker, Eldridge, Fredericksburg.

MEMORANDA.

Brig South America, Abbot, of this port, at Havana, from Buenos Ayres.

The brig Jane Amazone, from Portsmouth, N. H. for Porto Rico, was wrecked, Jan. 11, in the Gulf Stream, 5 days out, in a severe gale, which swept the decks, and killed a boy named SAMUEL VANNARD. The rest of the crew were taken off next day by the schr. Nancy, Bartlett, from Plymouth, and arr. at St. Pierres, Feb. 2. The Nancy's decks were swept in the same gale, and the man at the helm, Zephaniah Lucas, was washed overboard.

The schr. Jane, Capt. Hamlin, is ashore on Cape Henry. Her cargo consists of sugar and molasses. The tide ebbs and flows into her, and the lower tier of sugar will be lost.

NORFOLK, March 17.—Arrived British brig Hummingbird, Wainwright, Port Spain, Trinidad, 21 days, with molasses and fruit. Is in lat. 22° 17' long. 66° 18' spoke brig Eleanor & Sarah, 10 days from *Philad.* bound to Havana.—Markets dull for American produce; hour \$7 per barrel.

Steam boat Mount Vernon, Walker, *Philad.* and 12 days from Reedy Island—put in for a supply of wood. The M. V. had proceeded nearly half the distance to the Capes, and was compelled to put back to Lewisburg, on account of head winds. The M. V. is intended to run between Potomac Creek and Washington City.

The Ruins of Paestum :

And other compositions in verse. [This is a beautifully printed quarto volume, published at Salem (Mass.) anonymously. It is an original work. Price one dollar.]

Jahn's Biblical Archaeology, translated from the Latin, with additions and corrections, by Thomas C. Upton, A. M. Assistant teacher of Hebrew and Greek in the Theological Seminary, Andover. Price 3 dollars.

English's Travels, 1. 75.

Tudor's Life of Otis, 3. 50.

Sermons for Children, designed to promote their immediate piety. By Samuel Nott, Jr. [This is a neatly printed small book, price 50 cents. It is very favourably reviewed in the third number of the Christian Advocate.]

Woodbridge's Geography. [This little book contains many cuts, very neatly done, and is particularly on account likely to be attractive to children. Of its merits, teachers are invited to call and judge for themselves. Retail price 50 cents.] For sale by

E. Littell,

March 20.

Peveril of the Peak.

THIS DAY, is published, by S. POTTER & CO. Booksellers and Stationers, No. 88 Chesnut street, next door to their old stand,

Peveril of the Peak.

By the author of Waverly, Ivanhoe, Antiquary, Guy Manning, &c. &c. Also, Lord Byron's Werner, a Tragedy; Moore's Loves of the Angels; Pioneers, by the author of the "Py." Together with all the new publications as they appear.

ENGLISH THEOLOGY.

Just received, and for sale by

S. POTTER & CO.

Booksellers and Stationers, No. 88, Chesnut street, next door to their old stand,

Pearson, Bishop, the Creed, 3 vols. 8vo.

Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, 2 vols. 8vo.

Robinson's Theological Dictionary, 1 vol. 8vo.

Secker's, Archbishop, whole works, 6 vols. 8vo.

Churchman warned against the errors of the time, 2 vols. 8vo.

Boston's Complete Body of Divinity, 3 vols. 8vo.

Trail's, Rev. Robert, whole works, 2 vols. 8vo.

Cecil's, Rev. Richard, works, with a memoir of his Life and Character by Josiah Pratt, 3 vols. 8vo.

Stillingfleet's Literary Life and works, 3 vols. 8vo.

Baxter's Rev. Richard, Notes and Paraphrase on the New Testament, 1 vol. 8vo.

Leland's Deistical Writers, 2 vols. 8vo.

Gregory's Letters on the Christian Religion, 2 vols. 8vo.

Campbell's Rev. George, Sermons and Discourses on the Miracles, 1 vol. 8vo.

Gordon's Lecture on the Catechism, 3 vols. 8vo.

Standope's Paraphrase and Commentary on the Epistles and Gospels, 4 vols. 8vo.

Gisborne's, Rev. Thomas, works, 6 vols. 8vo.

Secker's, Archbishop, charges to the clergy, 1 vol. 8vo.

Bishop Ball's Works, with a memoir of his life, 6 vols. 8vo.

Gill's Tracts and Sermons, 3 vols. 8vo.

Dr. Dodd's Manual of Prophecy, 1 vol. 8vo.

Archbishop Usher's Body of Divinity, 1 vol. folio

Leigh's Body of Divinity, 1 vol. folio

Baxter's Rev. Richard, Catholic Theology, 1 vol. folio

Doublie's Body of Divinity, 1 vol. folio

Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, 1 vol. folio

Grice's Vindication of the Scriptures, 1 vol. 4to.

Burke's Expository Notes on the New Testament, 1 vol. 4to.

OXFORD EDITION HOLY BIBLE, 1 vol. 4to.

Gillies' on the New Testament, 2 vols. 8vo.

Roger's Lectures on the Liturgy, 2 vols. 8vo.

Schott's on the Lord's Supper, 1 vol. 4to.

Hooke's Redemption, 1 vol. 4to.

Reynold's Manual of Prophecy, 1 vol. 8vo.

Archbishop Usher's Body of Divinity, 1 vol. 12mo.

Grotius on the Christian Religion, 1 vol. 12mo.

Erskine's Ralph, whole works, 10 vols. 8vo.

Bogart's on the Catechism, 1 vol. 12mo.

Knowell's Christian Revelation, contrasted with Pagan Superstition, 1 vol. 12mo.

Ellery's on the Religious Affections, 1 vol. 12mo.

Trull's Rev. Robert House of Grace, 1 vol. 12mo.

Owner's Edward D. D. Family Prayers, 1 vol. 12mo.

Reid's Prayers for the use of Families, 1 vol. 8vo.

Baird's Prayers for Families, 1 vol. 8vo.

Baird's Prayers for every Sunday in the year, 1 vol. 12mo.

Lardner's Nathaniel, Sermons, 1 vol. 8vo.

Bogart's Sailor's Pilgrimage, 1 vol. 12mo.

Medley's Joseph Discourses and Epistles, 1 vol. 4to.

Hartley's sermons on various, 1 vol. 8vo.

Gil

House of Representatives of the United States, | February 10th, 1823.

MR. TOD'S SPEECH,

On the Bill for the more effectual protection and encouragement of Domestic Manufactures.

[CONCLUDED]

To show the impolicy of the proposed measure, the distresses of the agricultural class of England have been relied on. We have been warned not to follow the example of England; have been told that the inequality of property in that country is owing to their manufactures, which have produced there, and if encouraged to any great extent must produce here, every species of degradation, moral and physical. I may venture to reply, that, as to national debility, produced by the manufacturing system, the question may be tested by the example of that very country to which gentlemen refer us. Great Britain, an island, as the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Rhea) has said, not much larger than one of our states, not much superior to us in population, or in commerce, after enduring an almost constant war of extermination, with the greatest powers of Europe, in sight of her own shores, for twenty years together, entered into a war with us; during the whole of which we hear of no exhaustion, no want of means, no shewing of government paper among them. On our part, that war came upon us after thirty years peace. It lasted not three years. But, before the end of it, what was our situation? Deprived of the main sinew of war, and obliged to borrow money upon terms most disgraceful, terms which the user would have been almost ashamed to exact from a spendthrift in a consumption, whose whole property was an annuity for life! And let any gentleman say, upon his conscience, if that was had continued two years longer, notwithstanding the courage and devotion of our soldiers and seamen, whether the *sine qua non* of the lakes would, probably, have been deemed so intolerable. Since the peace, that manufacturing nation, over and above the support of their absences in France and Italy, their tythes, and other innumerable impositions, pays to the government the yearly sum of 280 millions of dollars,—drawing this money from their manufactures, or rather from us and from other nations by their manufactures; while we, whose policy it is to purchase, and not to make, have, in peace, been repeatedly obliged to borrow money for the small daily expenses of government, and even to procure from England specie enough to set up our national bank. As to the distress of the agricultural class of England, I cannot say that I know the fact, or believe it. But if gentlemen please, I am willing to agree that the distress of the English farmer is greater than that of the farmer of any other country in existence, excepting our own. But one thing I do know, that the English farmer has the monopoly of the home market, and the feeding of the men who manufacture for the world. I believe he is paid for all his provisions in good hard cash—no stacks of wheat in an English farmer's yard which have been standing since the end of the war—no cheating with a miserable paper currency—no sale of real estate for one third its original cost. But admitting, without reserve, that the distress of the agriculturist of England is equal to that of the Englishman, that, if he is exhausted, it has been in doing great things, in making good the claim of his country to the first rank in Europe, and in being foremost in fighting or paying in every war for more than a century. At any rate, he has the satisfaction to know that he is not devoured by the importers of foreign goods.

When gentlemen tell us of the inequality of property in England having been produced by the manufacturing system, I would beg leave to ask whether the fact be not exactly the reverse; and whether, before the establishment of manufactures, almost the whole property of that kingdom was not in the hands of the king and the nobles? And I would beg them to say further, whether if there is any one thing in the British system more royal, more monarchical than another, it is not their navy? Yet zealous as gentlemen are to follow the example of England in her navy, they appear to see a very direct anti-republican tendency in the wearing of a home-made coat—and deprecate nothing English so much as their mechanic arts, industry, frugality, and their protection of their own workmen. Nothing can be more unfounded than the idea that the protecting industry of a nation, by excluding foreign competition, is adverse to freedom, and the practice only of despotism. Let the gentleman from New-York (Mr. Cambreleng) say, whether the commencement of the present restrictive system of England was not the work of the only government in that country that ever had even the form or name of democracy—the parliament that brought the king to the block? And in Spain where for several generations, under a sluggish, superstitious despotism, the most profitable employment had been to raise wool, as we do cotton, for the British workmen, in order to get a part of it back in flannels and blankets, let the gentleman from New-York tell us whether, now, with the first gleam of liberty and energy in that country, monks and importers, the inquisition and English goods, have not gone by the board together; and American flour with the rest. Gentlemen have said, manufacturers are a puny, slavish breed. They ask, were our tars and soldiers of the late war mechanics? Was Hull a mechanic? This is not even declamation. It cannot be required to show that a company of mechanics have ever taken an enemy's ship. But, as to the army of the late war, it is demonstrable, that a full proportion of it were mechanics. A member of this House knows that four men from his manufactory were in Perry's fleet in the battle on Lake Erie. The topic of the degradation and debasement of labour, has been carried farthest by the gentleman from Georgia: (Mr. Tattnall.) I will not suppose his meaning to be, that in this Republic, all manual labour is slavish, and even infamous—but if he means that the degradation of labour is attached to mechanical employments only, I dispute that also, and venture to assert, that in general estimation, useful mechanical labour is as respectable and as honourable as that of agriculture. I know that among that whole important, numerous, and most valuable class of citizens, who are

neither poor nor rich, prudent fathers usually provide for their sons by binding them apprentices to mechanical trades. I assert, that the gentleman from Georgia, in degrading the mechanic arts, does not speak the sentiments of his constituents.

[Mr. Tattnall explained—that all his remarks on the subject were applicable, exclusively, to the general effects of large manufacturing establishments.]

Then I did misunderstand the gentleman. I comprehend his meaning now, it is, that the infamy of the trade in proportion to the size of the shop. I was going on to observe that the state of Georgia, in very poor and difficult times, voted a splendid and valuable gift to General Greene, for his military services. That general stood, unquestionably, second in the field, in the revolution. Yet he was a mechanic—blacksmith—a practical one, from the leather, apron and coal dust, sent from the anvil and the sledge to command armies and hammer the enemy. The degrading and pernicious theory of the tendency of mechanical labour to debase the spirits or the bodies of men, cannot be too indignantly rejected, founded, as it is, upon no fact or experience, but directly adverse to all the experience of the whole world. Gentlemen cannot name a nation that had not spirit for labour, that had spirit for any thing else. Portugal is said to have been once a country of brave, hardy and industrious men. Her government came, by instinct, to the sublime discovery of the modern political economists, that nothing should be done or made at home which could be had or purchased abroad cheaper. She became, like us, a customer to England for her manufactures, a nation of idlers; not spoiling their faculties by any sort of work, except gathering some fruit for foreign markets, and making some wine, to purchase from the English a miserable supply of clothing and cutlery—a country feeble and insignificant beyond all expression—having no more weight in the affairs of Europe than a West India plantation: while Great Britain, the nation of manufacturers, on a little rock in the Northern ocean, has, for one hundred years, held the first rank in Europe—holds the scourge over the coast of Africa, from the Nile to the Cape of Good Hope—Holds a large portion of the best part of Asia, and territory, almost unbounded, in America—with soldiers drawn from among a stunted population of manufacturers, as gentlemen would describe it, victorious in every quarter of the world, until they came here; and here, not always defeated.

The gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. Hardin,) has compared the situation of the farmer, on the land of his ancestors, with that of the crowded tenents of a great manufacturing establishment. I readily agree with him in the preference he gives to the life of the husbandman. But the gentleman from Kentucky knows very well how many families there are, and probably ever will be, who have no farms of their ancestors, or of their own, to cultivate. It is by families, such as these, that a manufactory is resorted to, as the most reputable place to gain an independent and honourable livelihood by labour: as a place of service, by far the safest for the morals of youth, of both sexes, belonging to the poorer classes of the community—a place where regularity and industry are taught—a place, applicable to the government of which, I venture to assert, stripes were never heard of until this debate—a place where proper education is or may be given. And the fact is, that, in the state of Connecticut, the proprietors are compelled, by law, to give the common schooling of the country to all the children, of both sexes, employed in their manufactory.

Gentlemen have, in this debate, urged repeatedly, that manufacturers are already sufficiently protected; that the manufacturers obtained every thing they asked for in the tariff of 1816. Further, they contend that it is the very essence of despotism to force men from one employment to another—to compel them to change the business of agriculture for the trade of manufacturing; and the labour, if let alone, will be sure to find its own most profitable employment. As to the tariff of 1816 having granted all that the manufacturers then asked for, gentlemen appear to have taken this fact from one another, without examination. We know that the secretary of the treasury, in proposing that tariff, consulted the manufacturers. He might have given them less, than they asked for: It is improbable that he could have thought of giving them more. Yet, the tariff proposed by the secretary, when it came to be acted on by Congress, was reduced in every the most important item essential to the protection of domestic industry. Not one single change, that I can remember, was made in it, but for the very purpose, or with the effect, of depressing the American manufacturer to the advantage of the foreigner. Linen cloths were put by the secretary at 20 per cent, and reduced by Congress to 15. Earthen-wares and glass manufacturers, proposed by him at 30 per cent, were lowered to 20. Cotton goods, from 33 1/3, were brought down to 25. And hampered bar-iron, from 75 cents a hundred, to 45. Whilst, generally, all articles that did not come into competition with our domestic manufacturers, were left exactly as the secretary proposed them.

The supposed impolicy of withdrawing labour from the profitable business of farming, can pass but as a mere mockery with those acquainted with the interior of the country; where, for the want of a market, the products of agriculture are already so abundant and so worthless, that there is no longer any incentive to exertion; and idleness, one of the worst of all political evils, is beginning to take the place of industry. Nor does the assertion, that our manufactures are now flourishing and sufficiently protected, need any contradiction with many members of the House, who know, that with very few exceptions, arising from peculiar local advantages, all the manufactures of the country, so flourishing during the war, so far as they are left unprotected by our laws, and exposed to the rivalry of foreigners, are now either utterly abandoned, and in ruins, or carried on reluctantly, with our energy, and without profit. But our immense importations are conclusive upon this question. During the very last year we im-

ported, for home consumption, woollen manufactures to the amount of more than eleven millions of dollars: cotton manufactures to the amount of more than eight millions: linens amounting nearly to four millions: bar-iron to nearly two millions: and earthen and stone-ware, amounting to more than one million of dollars.

Against the argument so frequently repeated, drawn from the alleged despotism of interfering with the private pursuits of men, and forcing them to employments which they abhor, I would only say, there is no compulsion intended here; and would ask gentlemen, who so incessantly urge this topic, when, at the close of the war, all the manufacturers in a body, applied to Congress for protecting duties, to enable them to live and to carry on business profitable to themselves and to the country—not to establish new manufactures, but to continue those already established; and when these petitions were rejected, in order to secure the advantage of buying English manufactures a little cheaper for the day, manufacturers most undoubtedly imported in enormous quantities, for the express purpose of being sold cheap, and to prostrate for ever all American competition; when this was done, and our workmen, by the legislation of Congress, turned out to beggary, or to waste away and perish under rugged species of labour to which they were unaccustomed, I would ask whether all this was done upon the principle now so much spoken of, and called the tyranny of forcing men to change their employments?

Gentlemen say, we have been importing foreign manufactures for more than thirty years, and we have prospered beyond any nation—why make experiments? The prosperity which gentlemen speak of may be admitted, provided they will agree that it ended with the cause of it—the wars arising out of the French revolution. Well might we support the constant heavy drain made upon us by foreign industry, while all the great nations of Europe were employed, not in raising, but in wasting and destroying, the fruits of the earth—when one power commanded the sea, and another the land, and we, almost the only neutral commercial nation in the world. Since those times, our condition, both public and private, has been every thing the reverse of prosperous. To dwell upon particulars of our public loans to defray the common peace expenses of government, nor the immense amount of private debt contracted for foreign manufacturers, nor our stop laws, nor our paper money, it may be enough to state, that more than one half of the agricultural, grain-raising population of the union, have no longer any market, at home or abroad, at which they may exchange their only surplus product for the conveniences of civilized life, to which they have been used, and which they ought not, in times of peace, to be required to abandon. Sir, it is notorious, that in the western country particularly, there is no longer any chance of compensation for labour; and that the man who with his boat load of flour at New-Orleans, after trying the market a reasonable time, hauled his whole cargo into the stream and set it on fire, returning home without any further loss or vexation, has left it a matter of dispute, whether his was not as prosperous a trip as any made by his neighbours. It may be said, without exaggeration, that more than one half of our country has, for the last five years, suffered all the evils which the impolicy of government can inflict upon a free people.

Two objections are next made to this bill, either of which, if supported, I admit, ought to be conclusive against it: that the provisions of it will be ruinous and destructive to the people of the South; and that they are unconstitutional.

It is admitted that the welfare of one or more sections of the Union ought not to be consulted, and their losses made good, at the expense of any other part. But it remains to be shown that the supposed disadvantage to the South is not wholly imaginary. It cannot readily be conceived how, by any encouragement of manufactures, the South can fail to rise in prosperity with the rest of the country. The interior of Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia, is said to be, generally, as fit for manufactures as any other territory of the Union. The residue of those states will never manufacture to any great extent. Agreed: but for what reason? It is, no doubt, because, from their soil and climate, and vicinity to the sea and to navigable rivers, the pursuits of agriculture must ever continue more profitable to them than any manufacturer.

On the constitutional question, nothing seems plainer than the express power given to Congress to lay duties on foreign articles imported. By certain refinements, not found in the constitution, gentlemen wish to restrict this power, and confine it to the laying of duties for the purpose of revenue only. To all arguments on the subject, we need only oppose the express letter of the constitution, and the invariable construction which has been given to it from the commencement of the government. In fact, I cannot find that the construction, now contended for by gentlemen, has ever been thought of until lately. The very second law in our statute book, enacted immediately after the adoption of the constitution, and imposing duties on foreign articles, has a preamble, declaring one of its purposes, to be the encouragement and protection of manufactures. That law and its supplement, or rather its substitute, passed in the next year, gave a duty of six cents a pound upon tobacco, three cents upon cotton, and twenty-five cents upon indigo. Do gentlemen seriously contend that those duties were imposed by the first Congress for the purpose of collecting revenue from the importation and consumption, in the United States, of foreign tobacco, indigo, and cotton?

The very third act in our statute book imposes duties on tonnage. No one will say that foreign tonnage is not as well protected by our constitution as foreign manufactures. In fact, the power as to each is given in precisely the same terms. Let us see how this constitutional difficulty, and these matters of getting things cheap and letting labour seek its own most profitable employment, were thought of by the first Congress. On vessels

tax imposed was six cents a ton, on foreign vessels fifty cents a ton; and in the coasting trade this duty to be paid but once a year by American vessels, by foreign vessels every time that they enter into a port, though it should be fifty times a year—a duty which has amounted to a prohibition of foreigners, complete as to the coasting trade, and no doubt was so intended. I do not find fault with this exclusion of foreigners, but wish it to be applied to their manufactures as well as their shipping.

It is a most signal instance to prove how much the industry of a people depends on the countenance of their government. For let it be remembered, that for about six years from the end of the revolutionary war to the adoption of the constitution, during the reign of *Let us alone* policy, and absolute freedom from restriction and monopoly, the era of getting cheap goods and cheap carriage of our productions from state to state, we were as poor in commerce as we were in everything else, and had not shipping sufficient for our own coasting trade, trifling as that was. But the exclusion of foreigners brought domestic commercial industry into life, and from being despotic tributaries to the skippers of Nova Scotia and Bermuda, the country stepped almost at once into the second rank among commercial nations.

When that foundation of our naval power was laid by the prohibitory duty on foreign shipping, we do not hear of any member of Congress from Massachusetts lamenting the hardship and oppression upon the poor south, that had no ships, nor seamen. Nor do we hear of any member from Georgia protesting against the partiality and iniquity of the tax, branding it as a monopoly and plunder by the ship owners, asserting that he was a freeman, and had a right to pay his own money to whom he pleased, and send his tobacco, indigo, and rice, by any vessel that would carry it the cheapest, and that the constitution gave no power to lay duties but for revenue only. Yet without intending any comparison, far less any disparagement, I will venture to say, that Georgia then had representatives in this body who understood the rights and interests of their constituents at least as well as their successors.

Nothing can seem clearer than that every reason which in 1789 moved Congress to lay a high tonnage duty on foreign shipping, urges with double force the policy and necessity, at this time, of imposing high protecting duties on those foreign goods, which interfere with our domestic manufactures. Bad as the times were then, when labour had been so long left to seek its own most profitable employment, that there was no profitable employment left, they happen, in many respects, to be worse now. For with the same disposition to run in debt, we had not then fortunately, the same credit: nor had we, perhaps, the same appetite for importations: nor were we so well versed in the fashions of Europe. Besides we had then no national debt funded; no bank stock, nor bridge nor canal stock. When specie and private credit were all gone, no certificates of public debt, nor stock certificates, could at that time be sent to Europe to pay for iron, lead, paper, calico, hats and clothing. So that we then escaped that last of all disgraces, a mortgage of the national revenue, and a perpetual tribute to foreign merchants, for their wares already consumed—and as we before had established a funding system, to enable us to impose, very justly, upon posterity a part of the debt of the revolution; so now a new sort of funding system to enable us to throw upon posterity the expense of our muslins and broad cloths, which we are too luxurious and indolent to do without, or to make and to pay for. Not only is our condition worse than in 1789, but every one sees it must continue while we leave all the resources of the nation to the disposal of the importers of foreign manufactures, who, for the sake of profit, would, if it were possible, send the very soil of the country to England for dry goods.

In opposition to this bill some gentlemen have told us that foreign nations may be dissatisfied with its provisions, and may retaliate by regulations of their own. This argument can hardly be replied to with gravity. What? alarmed, lest England or France should withdraw from us their patronage, and sell us no more of their manufactures? They now take from us nothing which they can avoid taking. If they are dissatisfied, it must plainly be because the alterations here proposed are more favourable to themselves than to them.

One word to the friends of domestic manufactures. It is not presumed that all the provisions of this bill are perfectly satisfactory; or that they are such exactly as they ought to be. Mutual concession is necessary. Errors may be corrected, and omissions supplied, by subsequent legislation; but the mischiefs of one dispute about detail may not be easily retrieved. The danger of lending too ready an ear to specious amendments must be obvious. And I ask of the friends of the bill, while they are conscious of the integrity of their motives, and that if successful, they are laying the sure foundations of public and individual prosperity, to persevere in doing their duty, and to remember that they are supported by the opinions of every statesman from every quarter of the Union, I believe without exception, from the commencement of the government, whose official duty it has been to study and consult the interest of the whole country.

Nothing can be more unfounded than the idea that the protecting industry of a nation, by excluding foreign competition, is adverse to freedom, and the practice only of despotism.

On the 20th of February, 1789, the *Advertiser of Eastern Pennsylvania*, to wit:

***** BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the twenty-

***** day of January, in the forty-seventh year of the

***** S. S. & Co. WILLIAM W. THACKARA, of the said

***** day, deposited in this office the Title of a Book,

the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

“American Anecdotes, Characters and Incidents; Revolutionary and Miscellaneous. Original and Selected.”

“We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have de-

clared unto us, the noble things that were done in their day, and the old time before them.”—*Common Prayer*.

In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled “An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the term of fourteen years, from the time of their being so registered, to be paid by the author or proprietor, for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the term of fourteen years, from the time of their being so registered, to be paid by the author or proprietor, for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the term of fourteen years, from the time of their being so registered, to be paid by the author or proprietor, for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the term of fourteen years, from 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